

The Ford International Weekly  
**THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT**

Published by  
**THE DEARBORN PUBLISHING CO.**  
 Dearborn, Michigan

HENRY FORD, President.  
 C. J. FORD, Vice President.  
 E. B. FORD, Secretary-Treasurer.  
 W. J. CAMERON, Editor.

Twenty-first Year, Number 40, July 30, 1921.

The subscription price in the United States, its dependencies, Cuba, Mexico and Canada is \$1.50 a year, payable in U. S. funds; foreign countries, subscription rates on request. Single Copy, Ten Cents.

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post Office at Dearborn, Michigan, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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## The Tariff and Politics

**E**VEN before the Fordney Permanent Tariff Bill was voted on in the House, the criticism of its provisions, from both Democratic and Republican sources, foreshadowed a recurrence of the bitter and sordid wrangling that has long been the fate of attempts at tariff framing.

The tariff in politics has been a bone of contention between various selfish interests, and, in consequence, between the respective sections of the country in which one interest or another dominated. In the current charges that the chemical-dye trust, the sugar trust, the lumber trust, the wool trust, the steel trust and the oil trust have been actively lobbying for the "protection" of their respective businesses, we have vivid reminder of the venality and corruption in American politics that reached its depth of degradation in the telegram of a national committee chairman during a presidential campaign calling for the "frying of the fat" out of the manufacturers to supply campaign funds.

Over and over, during the past twenty years, the people have been promised that this whole matter should be removed forever from the realm of party politics and put into the hands of a permanent non-partisan tariff commission with quasi-judicial powers. In the very nature of the case, the fixing of duties on imports with any degree of fairness and impartiality, or with any realizing sense of the larger interests involved, is utterly impossible to a committee of the House of Representatives.

Even if selfish and particular profit-seeking could be eliminated and the protagonists of special interests barred from exerting any undue influence in the framing of tariff schedules, the district and sectional influences to which members of Congress are particularly susceptible would make impossible to them that broad-minded appreciation of the needs of the country as a whole which is imperatively called for in this matter.

The bill now before the House is striking illustration of this fact. The whole country is crying out for the revival of our export trade on which the prosperous activity of our farms, mills and factories depends. For lack of this trade, millions of men are today suffering in enforced idleness. Yet the Fordney Bill would erect a high tariff wall, which would hinder foreign trade. Such a wall would keep out the comparatively small amount of goods coming from starved and devastated Europe, and at the same time keep in the enormously larger amount of American goods seeking foreign markets.

While frankly a "protective" measure, it is urged by its author that the bill would raise \$700,000,000 annually of needed revenue. To this Congressman John Garner, of Texas, ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee, makes the obvious rejoinder that if it did bring in any such revenue, it would mean an additional cost to the consumers in this country, for the necessities of life, of \$2,000,000,000.

Plainly the few big beneficiaries of such a tariff bill have been considered more than the people.

## The Right Stuff

**S**EVEN years ago, Johnny Fred was an untutored savage living in the wilds of Alaska far above the Arctic Circle. This month he returns to the land of his youth a full-fledged American citizen and a missionary of the Episcopalian Church. After a year or so of preliminary work at Fort Yukon, he will study medicine, for it is the ambition of Johnny's life to devote himself wholly to the work of a medical missionary in the frozen North.

One touch of nature makes the whole world kin. It is impossible to read the story which marked the

departure of this young Aleut Indian boy from a hut in the northern wild to the Mount Hermon School, without a quickening of the pulse and a deepened faith in the qualities of the human soul.

It seems that Archdeacon Stuck, back in 1913, selected Johnny Fred, then a stout Aleut boy of 14, as one of his party for the perilous ascent of Mount McKinley, or as the natives call it, Denali, whose peak rises to an altitude of 20,300 feet, the highest point on the American Continent. It fell to Johnny to remain at the base camp on guard over the supplies for the return trip. In his book, "The Ascent of Denali," Archdeacon Stuck pays a touching tribute to the lad:

"With the dogs and sledges, the precious stores of coffee and sugar, flour and bacon, he kept watch and ward in lonely vigil during the several weeks necessary for our party to make the ascent and return. Very much depended on Johnny and a load was lifted from every heart when we came near enough to camp to see some one was moving about. A shout brought him running, and he never stopped until he had met us and taken the pack from my shoulders and transferred it to his own. . . . Supper was a delight. Johnny had killed four mountain sheep and a caribou while we were gone, and not only had fed the dogs well, but from time to time had put aside choice portions against our return. But what was most grateful to us and most extraordinary in him, the boy had saved, untouched, the small ration of sugar and milk left for his own consumption, knowing that ours was all destroyed. There are not many boys of 14 of any race who would have done the like."

If "education" has not spoiled him, Johnny is sure to give a good account of himself as he goes on in his chosen career.

## How Japan Feels About It

**T**HE resort to force as a method of settling differences between nations is a confession of weakness. It is a substitution of unintelligent emotion for calm reason. Intelligence acts on full information and understanding of a situation, whatever its difficulties. None are so blind as those who will not see and a blind rage is the ready and easy resort of the stupid and unthinking.

It is about time that the lords and rulers, the leaders and legislators woke up to a realization of the great truth to which Lincoln gave utterance when he said, "No question is really settled until it is settled right!" Not in the heat and confusion of the clash of arms does right come uppermost and justice become enthroned. We may think with Napoleon that "God is on the side of the heavier battalions," but this is only true when the heavier battalions are on the side of God. That which is done violently is done madly; it has to be done over again and done in clear-eyed sanity. Genuine peace is possible only after the belligerents cease firing, cool off and act with open-minded consideration for each other's attitudes and interests.

It is essential, above all things, that each of the opponents put himself in the other's place and get his viewpoint. In the coming disarmament conference, we shall probably have little difficulty in achieving mutual understanding and so agreement with Great Britain, France and Italy. There are more serious obstacles to understanding between America and Japan, but they are by no means insurmountable. Fortunately, we are being helped to get into the Japanese mind by the utterances of the Japanese press concerning the conference proposal.

Japan thinks she has grievances. Japan has fears which seem to her to be founded in reason. Perhaps the great outstanding and root grievance she has is the rejection by the Versailles Conference of her request for a recognition in the treaty of racial equality in international relations. Wilson is held responsible for that rejection. It is a big question. Our fleet in the Pacific and our naval building program, our strengthening of fortifications at Honolulu and Manila are by many Japanese regarded as menaces. They do not fear an American invasion of their country, but a lowering of Japanese influence and prestige in the Far East. They fear also American industrial and commercial exploitation of that section of the globe in a manner inimical to Japanese interests. Our siding with the Chinese in the Shantung matter does not perhaps appear to Japanese eyes so entirely disinterested and void of menace as we think it.

Tokio dispatches report a purpose to get the Yap, Shantung, Siberian and immigration disputes out of the way before the opening of the conference. That certainly is a hopeful sign. European reception of President Harding's initiatory move toward disarmament seems to have caused some alarm at the possible isolation of Japan. Increase of anti-Japanese feeling in China and the friendship of both Britain and America for that country are looked upon as tending to isolate Japan. Japan does not want to be isolated.

## The Veneer

**A**N EMINENT Spanish writer is scornfully critical of Anglo-Saxon barbarism as exemplified in the interest shown in the recent Dempsey-Carpentier boxing match. "How thin the veneer of civilization of the Americans," he sadly reflects, "when two human brutes pummeling each other until their bodies are nothing but lumps of bruised and bleeding flesh afford a spectacle that draws nearly 100,000 of them, including many women, into a great wooden inclosure!"

One of the contestants in the recent event was not an Anglo-Saxon, but a Latin, and in his own country, he became a great popular idol when he, by a clever fist blow, laid the English champion, Beckett, senseless at his feet. That fact aside, we Anglo-Saxons are far from singular in the atavism that, in spots, ranges us with the populace that crowded the Colosseum in olden days when Christians were "butchered to make a Roman holiday." Rather nearer to the gladiatorial combats of ancient Rome than the Jersey City spectacle must be reckoned the bullfights now as ever in such high favor with all classes in Spanish countries.

A recent dispatch from Beziers in France, a city memorable for the massacre of the Albigenses back in 1209, is in point. It hardly signals any very superior refinement in bullfighting over boxing. "At the beginning of the bullfight," reads the item, "the Spanish matador Flores, after having been disarmed by the bull was terribly gored, his right lung being pierced by the bull's horn. The matador was removed to the hospital in a serious condition. Meantime, the bullfight continued amid the acclamation of 20,000 spectators."

Comparisons are odious, and there may be little to choose between the bullfight and the prize fight. Both are evidence that, especially *en masse*, neither Saxon, Celt nor Gaul is separated from the blood lust of barbaric ages by more than a thin layer of superficial culture.

Perhaps the fairest way of looking at it, would be to see in both prize fighting and bullfighting corrupted surviving vestiges of the Olympian Games. It may seem a far cry from the wreath of wild olive for which the old Greek athletes contended to the big purses attached to modern championship bouts. But the revival of the Olympian Games in our own day surely testifies to a regard for the spirit of courage and fair play which may some day find its fuller expansion in all the dealings of man with man.

## Is Harding for Publicity

**W**HEN, at the very first meeting of the Peace Conference, President Wilson permitted the first of his famous Fourteen Points to be thrown overboard, there was a sharp and ominous repercussion among the newspaper correspondents gathered from the four quarters of the world. Cynicism and frank hopelessness of the fulfillment of the splendid promise of the American President's previous attitude found sad or saturnine utterance on all sides.

That instead of "open covenants openly arrived at," we were compelled to submit to a repetition of the discredited secret diplomacy, that had made the Vienna Congress of an earlier generation a byword and a hissing, proved a veritable shock to forward-looking men and women the world over. In that first false step, the Peace Conference lost the confidence of the masses of the people who had sacrificed so nobly in the faith that the war had been a war to end war, a war to make the world safe for democracy. It was a step that justified the gloating and the cynicism of the jingoes and the profiteers.

The doom of the League of Nations was written in the betrayal of the promise of openness and publicity for the deliberations of which it was born.

On all sides, a demand is now arising that no chance be taken, of repeating this fundamental false step in connection with the disarmament conference called by President Harding. The Philadelphia Ledger succinctly voices this demand in its suggestion that the central purpose of the Washington Conference, as President Harding appears to contemplate it, being to "find a practical way for the elimination of armament competition between nations," it must to that end, "deliberately try to drag out into the light for public scrutiny the plans of limited groups in various countries who, for criminally selfish reasons, consistently obstruct the work of those who want to make an end to wars."

The new peace gathering should lay all the cards on the table, face up.